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THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

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PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING

LAWS AND REGULATIONS
FROOM APRIL 1917 TO MARCH 1918

WITH INDEX

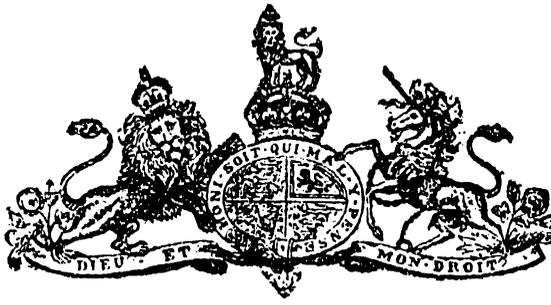
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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

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, Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on Monday
the 24th September, 1917.

PRESENT :

THE HON'BLE MR. G. R. LOWNDES *Vice-President. presiding*, and
52 Members, of whom 48 were Additional Members.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The Hon'ble Mr. Malcolm N. Hogg asked:—

1. "(a) Is Government aware that the recent alteration in the rate at which the ^{Sale of Coun-} Secretary of State will sell Council Bills has aroused considerable anxiety in ^{all Bills.} commercial and banking circles in India and that the prevailing uncertainty as to the future exchange policy of Government is seriously hampering the finance of exports of national importance ?

(b) Will Government remove the uncertainty by making a pronouncement of their exchange policy and stating whether the recent change is a war emergency measure only, or is to be regarded as an abandonment of the policy of a fixed and stable exchange ; and, if it is a war emergency measure only, whether further changes may be expected during the continuance of the war in the event of any considerable rise or fall taking place in the price of silver ?"

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer replied :—

" I will answer both parts of this question together. As the Government of India announced in a recent press communiqué dated the 19th September, a copy of which was supplied to my Hon'ble friend at the time, the Secretary of State has authorised the Government of India to make the following statement with regard to the conditions by which he is being, and will for the present be, guided in fixing his Council rates. These rates are being, and will continue to be, based roughly on the price at which the Secretary of State is able to buy silver. He cannot be expected to sell rupees at appreciably less than their

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actual cost, but he intends to apply this principle with considerable latitude so as to avoid changes as far as possible.

It will thus be seen that the recent raising of the price of the Secretary of State's Council drawings has been brought about by abnormal increase in the price of silver, which is in its turn a product of the special circumstances of this worldwide war. The measures adopted to meet these circumstances must not be considered as amounting in any way to abandonment of the policy of a fixed and stable exchange.

The Government of India recognise that a rise in the rate of exchange is *per se* prejudicial to our export trade just as that trade is hampered by the limitations which it has been necessary to impose on the volume of the Secretary of State's Council drawings. But as has been repeatedly explained, the Government of India and the Secretary of State embark on any such action with the greatest reluctance and simply in order to prevent greater evils. In short, the abnormal circumstances of the war require, every now and then, action in restraint of trade which the Government would not impose in time of peace."

The Hon'ble Captain Ajab Khan, Sardar Bahadur asked:—

2. "Is it a fact—

Retired
Indian
Officers
holding
honorary
rank of
Lieutenant
or Captain.

(a) that retired Indian officers who hold the honorary rank of Lieutenant or Captain and are re-employed in the army get none of those privileges, *e.g.*, travelling allowance, lodging, etc., which are enjoyed by officers of similar rank in the other branches of military service? and

(b) that when retired Indian officers holding the honorary rank of Lieutenant or Captain are invited to attend Durbars and other ceremonial functions, they are not given the privileges as to conveyance and lodging which their rank entitles them to under the Army Regulations?"

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief replied:—

"(a) Retired Indian Officers who hold the honorary rank of Lieutenant or Captain and are re-employed in the Army travel on warrant on all occasions except when warrants cannot be issued by road, when they draw travelling allowances at the rate of two annas a mile. The fact that these officers hold honorary rank does not entitle them to draw travelling allowance as for officers holding equal substantive rank, and when travelling on duty they draw allowances according to the scales laid down for Indian officers.

Neither British nor Indian officers receive lodging allowance under Indian regulations. Detention allowance is, however, granted under certain circumstances.

(b) When they attend Durbars or other ceremonial functions they are entitled to the privileges enjoyed by Indian officers. Their honorary rank does not entitle them, in the absence of any rules in Army Regulations, to the privileges enjoyed by officers of equal substantive rank."

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda asked:—

The Indian
Universities
Act.

3. "(a) Has any Circular letter been addressed to Local Governments inviting suggestions for amendment of the Indian Universities Act?"

(b) If so, will Government lay on the table a copy of the Circular letter and the replies, if any, received?"

The Hon'ble Sir C. Sankaran Nair replied:—

"(a) Yes.

(b) The Government do not now propose to lay the correspondence on the table."

[*Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda ; Sir William Vincent.*] [24TH SEPTEMBER, 1917.]

The Hon'ble Mr Kamini Kumar Chanda asked :—

4. "Is it a fact—

The Irish Home Rule question.

(a) that the Irish Home Rule question has been before the British Government and nation for about half a century?

(b) that it has times without number caused bloodshed and serious outrages against life and property?

(c) that only last year there was a rebellion in Ireland which had to be put down by the Military?

(d) that the British Government has taken up the question of its immediate settlement and even granted an amnesty to all political prisoners and invited representatives of all parties in Ireland to form a convention to discuss the question?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda :—

"With regard to Question No. 4, I beg to say that parts of the Question as sent by me have been disallowed. I do not think that it will serve any useful purpose to put the question as it stands on the agenda. I beg leave to withdraw it."

The question was by leave withdrawn.

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda asked :—

5. "(a) Is there a girls' school in Delhi called the Indraprastha Girls' School established in 1904, and is it a fact that Miss Gmeiner was Lady Superintendent thereof from 1905, and that last year this school with an enrolment of 350 girls, was raised to the status of a High School, and that the school was receiving a grant-in-aid of Rs. 200 a month?"

The Indraprastha Girls' School in Delhi.

(b) Is it a fact that after the opening of a Branch Home Rule League at Delhi, the grant-in-aid has been withdrawn on the ground that the Lady Superintendent Miss Gmeiner had joined the League and that she must withdraw either from the school or the League?

(c) Is it a fact that at the same time the payment of the scholarship money which was then overdue was also withheld?

(d) Is it a fact that the said school is the largest girls' school in Delhi and that though all other schools were given one evening in the week to visit the Delhi Fort Gardens no day was allotted to it.

(e) Is it a fact that the Lady Superintendent and the Honorary Secretary of the School Committee gave an assurance to the Chief Commissioner that the Home Rule League is quite apart from the school and that no member of the School Committee nor any person connected with the school besides Miss Gmeiner and an Honorary worker, Miss Priest, had anything whatever to do with the Home Rule League?"

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent replied :—

"(a) The Indraprastha Girl's School, Delhi, had at the time of its last report 325 girls on the Register. It received a grant-in-aid of Rs. 239 *per mensem*.

(b) The Head Mistress informed the Chief Commissioner that she has started and was Honorary Secretary of, a Branch of the Home Rule League. As he held it to be contrary to public policy that teachers in schools enjoying grants-in-aid from public money should be allowed to take a prominent part in a political agitation of this type, he informed the managing committee that unless Miss Gmeiner withdrew from active participation in the work of the League, it would be necessary to withdraw the grant. On the Committee declining to compel this lady to take this course, the Chief Commissioner withdrew the grant-in-aid from the School.

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[*Sir William Vincent ; Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda ; Mr. F. C. Rose ; Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi.*]

(c) The grant-in-aid having been withdrawn the school became 'unrecognised' for the purpose of the Education Code and the payment of scholarships ceased in consequence.

(d) It has been ascertained that the Inspectress of Schools conducted parties of girls from certain schools in Delhi to see the Fort Gardens but did not conduct a party from the Indraprastha Girls' School. The matter was not one which came before the local Administration and no orders were passed on the point.

(e) The Chief Commissioner, Delhi, reports that the Honorary Secretary informally stated that the work of the League was separate from the work of the School and at the same time expressed his own disapproval of the connection of the Head Mistress with the Home Rule League. The management of the school have not addressed the Chief Commissioner on this subject."

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda asked :—

Home Rule
Reading
Room
in Delhi.

6. "(a) Is it a fact :—

- (i) that a reading room called the Home Rule Reading Room was lately opened at Delhi, and
- (ii) that the management of the reading room complained of harassment at the hands of the Criminal Investigation Department, not only by crowding the room but making it a rule to follow and harass visitors so as to make them discontinue their visits ?

(b) If so, was any inquiry made about the complaint ?"

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent replied :—

"(a) (i) The fact is as stated.

(a) (ii) and (b) The management have made no complaint either to the Chief Commissioner or to other local authorities of harassment by the Criminal Investigation Department."

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda asked :—

Report of
the Public
Works Reor-
ganisation
Committee.

7. "(a) Will Government be pleased to state if the Public Works Reorganisation Committee has submitted its report ?

(b) Is the report unanimous ?

(c) Will this Council be given an opportunity of making observations on the recommendations of the Committee before action is taken by Government thereon ?

(d) Will Government be pleased to place the report on the table ?"

The Hon'ble Mr. F. C. Rose replied :—

"The answer to part (a) of the question is in the negative.

Answers to part (b), (c) and (d) cannot be given until the report has been received."

The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi asked:—

Elementary
education.

8. "(a) Have any Bills to provide for compulsory elementary education been introduced in Legislative Councils in India ? If so, in which of the Legislative Councils have such Bills been introduced ?

(b) Have any other private Bills for the same purpose been forwarded to Government for sanction ? If so, for what Provinces and areas are they intended ?

(c) Do Government propose to introduce any Bills on their own initiative for this purpose in Provinces where no steps have yet been taken to introduce compulsory elementary education ?"

[*Sir C. Sankaran Nair ; Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis ; Sir William Meyer.*] [4TH SEPTEMBER, 1917.]

The Hon'ble Sir C. Sankaran Nair replied :—

" (a) A Bill to amend the Bombay District Municipal Act, 1901, with a view to empowering Municipalities under certain conditions to make elementary education compulsory, has been introduced in the Legislative Council of the Governor of Bombay.

(b) No other private Bills for this purpose have been forwarded to the Government of India for sanction. But the Government of India have officially received a copy of a Bill further to amend the City of Bombay Municipal Act, 1883, for making elementary education compulsory in the city of Bombay.

(c) The Government of India have at present no such intention."

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis asked :—

9. " (a) Is the question of a revision of the Income Tax Act under consideration as stated on the 9th July by the Hon'ble Sir George Barnes at the Bombay Chamber of Commerce ? The Income Tax Act.

(b) If so, will Government be pleased to indicate the nature and scope of the changes under contemplation ?

(c) Is it a fact that at present refund can only be claimed by application on forms which have to be signed at least in some of the Provinces by applicants before the Collector of Income Tax or a Justice of the Peace or a Magistrate ?

(d) If so, is Government aware that compliance with this rule is not practicable in the case of pardanashin ladies or small holders of securities in the interior ?

(e) Will Government be pleased to consider in connection with the general question of revision the desirability —

(i) of embodying a statutory provision for refund after inquiry of income tax deducted from interest due upon Government Promissory Notes, Port Trust Debentures and like securities upon claims preferred by the persons referred to in (d) ; or

(ii) of issuing instructions to the same effect to Local Governments and Administrations ?"

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer replied :—

(a) Ycs. As I explained to the Committee of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce last month, the Government of India hoped to introduce a Bill for the purpose towards the end of the present session of the Legislative Council, the intention being merely to introduce the Bill and then to publish it and refer it to Local Governments and Administrations and to the public for criticism. The revision of the Act has, however, proved to be a more difficult and complicated task than we expected, and owing to this cause and to the pressure of work during the present Council session, it has not been possible to complete the preparation of the Bill in time for introduction before this session closes. We propose, however, to carry out our previous intention as far as possible, and, as soon as the drafting of the Bill has been completed, to publish it. This we now expect to do during the course of next month. Ample opportunity will thus be afforded to the public for consideration of the provisions of the Bill and for putting forward suggestions. The Bill will then be formally introduced in the next Delhi session of the Legislative Council.

(b) The main object of the revision of the existing Act is to bring together all sources of an assessee's income for the purpose of determining the rate at which he shall be assessed on each part of it. Legislation for this purpose became essential with the adoption of graduated rates of tax in 1913. A detailed examination of the existing Act has shown that in order to give effect to this

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Bahadur; Sir George Barnes.]

object, it will be necessary to recast the whole Act. Apart from this, the replies which we received from Local Governments and others to our reference on the subject have shown that numerous amendments are required in order to bring our income tax machinery as a whole up to date and to make it efficient. As the various alterations suggested are still under examination, it is not possible at present to make any definite statement as to the nature and scope of the changes contemplated, but, as I have just explained, it is our intention to publish the Bill for general information and criticism as soon as we can. I may add to prevent any misapprehension, that the new Bill deals, as has been said with the improvement of machinery and is not intended to make any alteration in the rates of income-tax leviable. That is a budgetary matter, and if and when any modification in the existing rates of taxation should be found desirable, it will form a part of a Budget programme.

(c) The rules governing applications for refunds are made by Local Governments and Administrations, but the Government of India understand that in some Provinces at least the position is as stated by the Hon'ble Member.

(d) The Government of India have received no representations that *pardhanashin* ladies or small holders of securities in the interior of the country find it impracticable to comply with any of the rules relating to refunds which have been issued by Local Governments. It would be for Local Governments to deal with such representations, and the Government of India have no doubt that in the event of any difficulties arising, these will be duly considered by Local Governments.

(e) The Government of India recognize the importance of ensuring the grant of refunds promptly and with a minimum of inconvenience to applicants who may be entitled to them. Thus in addressing Local Governments on the subject last year, they explained that they wished simplicity and the convenience of assesseees to be studied as far as possible in the procedure to be adopted for refunds, and that they would be glad to co-operate by assenting to any details of procedure which would tend to this object, should their sanction be required on any particular point. Some difficulties occurred at the outset before the procedure for dealing with refund applications was settled, but the Government of India are sure that Local Governments are doing what they can to minimize inconvenience to assesseees. We have at present under examination the manner in which refunds in respect of income-tax deducted from interest on Government promissory notes and other securities can most conveniently be dealt with in the Bill above referred to and we shall in due course consider whether any general instructions are necessary to supplement the provisions of the Bill.

The Hon'ble Rai Sita Nath Ray Bahadur asked :—

Banking
legislation
and post-
war trade.

1. "(a) Have the Government of India consulted Local Governments and public bodies on—

- (i) The proposed Banking legislation for India, and
- (ii) the post-war trade reforms ?

(b) If so, will Government be pleased to lay on the table the opinions which have so far been received ?"

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :—

"(a) The answer is in the affirmative.

(b) I lay on the table copies of the replies* received on the subject of Banking Legislation. Government do not consider it desirable in present circumstances to publish the opinions which have been received on the subject of trade after the war in as much as these opinions contain tentative suggestions which affect the subjects of foreign powers."

QUESTION AND ANSWERS; RESOLUTION *re* PROPORTION OF 367
INDIAN RECRUITS IN THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

[*Rai Sita Nath Ray Bahadur ; Sir Robert Gillan ; Sir Hugh Bray ; Sir William Vincent ; The Vice-President ; Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.*]

[21TH SEPTEMBER, 1917.]

The Hon'ble Rai Sita Nath Ray Bahadur asked :—

11. " Will Government be pleased to state whether they received, several years ago, a proposal from the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, for the constitution of an Advisory Board for the management of the Eastern Bengal Railway ; and, if the answer be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to lay on the table the correspondence on the subject ?"

Constitution of an Advisory Board for management of the Eastern Bengal Railway.

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Gillan replied :—

" The answer to the first part of the Hon'ble Member's question is in the affirmative.

The correspondence* asked for is placed upon the table."

The Hon'ble Sir Hugh Bray asked :—

12. " Will Government be pleased to state what, if any, guarantees they received in regard to Mrs. Besant and her two companions ?"

Guarantees received from Mrs. Besant and her companions.

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent replied :—

" His Excellency the Viceroy has received a telegram from Mrs. Besant conveying to him an assurance that she is ready to co-operate in obtaining a calm atmosphere during Mr. Montagu's visit.

The Government of India had also previously received assurances from influential sources which, in the opinion of Government, justified them in recommending the removal of the restrictions placed on Mrs. Besant by the Government of Madras."

The Hon'ble the Vice-President :—" Before the Council proceeds to the consideration of the resolutions on the list I think it desirable to point out to Hon'ble Members that though we shall go on with last Friday's list of resolutions on the Public Services Commission to-day, it will be necessary tomorrow, if that list is not finished, to take up the supplementary list which has been issued, and which contains certain other resolutions ; we shall take them first, only the balance of the time available tomorrow being given to any of the Public Service resolutions which may be left over."

RESOLUTION *re* PROPORTION OF INDIAN RECRUITS IN THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to move the following Resolution :—

" This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the Government of India should move the Secretary of State that, in case it be decided that a certain proportion of the Indian Civil Service officers recruited every year should be selected on the result of a competitive examination held for the purpose in India, that proportion should be not less than one half of the total number of the posts included in the cadre of the Indian Civil Service and not one-fourth as recommended by the Public Services Commission."

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[*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.*]

“ Sir, the resolution which I moved relating to the question of simultaneous examinations expresses, I venture to say, the sense of the bulk of the educated community of India, as has been made very clear by the resolutions passed at the Indian National Congress and the numerous conferences and by the Moslem League, and the meetings which have been held throughout the country. It is the conviction of Indians that in order to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of educated Indians this is the one means which should be adopted, the means which was recommended as most necessary for fulfilment of the pledges given to Indians by the Act of 1833, and the Proclamation of 1858, and was recommended by the committee appointed by the Secretary of State. For these many years we have urged that this should be done and we still urge that this is the right course to pursue. The reasons for it I do not wish to dilate upon at this moment because I have dwelt upon them already. But I wish to make it clear that if I am putting forward an alternative resolution, it is not to be understood that I in any way abandon the position taken up by educated Indians generally on the question of simultaneous examinations. We feel that this is the best solution of the problem. We want to obliterate distinctions of race and creed, between Europeans and Indians who are to serve His Majesty's Government and this great country. We want that Indians and Europeans who enter the Indian Civil Service should feel in every respect that they stand on a footing of equality and we feel that that equality can only be secured if they are submitted to the same intellectual test, if they enter by the same door of open competition, if they are placed in all respects on an equal footing with the members of the Civil Service. Now Sir, if unfortunately the Government should decide that simultaneous examinations shall not be held I am certain that there will be a great deal of dissatisfaction in the country, I am certain that the solution will not be accepted as satisfactory. But if simultaneous examinations are not agreed to, and if the Government decide to fix a certain proportion of posts in the Civil Service to be competed for in India, then the second question which I wish to urge upon the consideration of Government is that the proportion of the appointments to be competed for should be such as would give some satisfaction to the educated community. The proportion which has been recommended by the Royal Commission is one-fourth, one-fourth of the superior posts, Mr. Chaubal has pointed out how that works injuriously even so far as that proportion is concerned. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim has urged that the proportion should be one-third.

“ The Government of Madras urged, so far back as 1893, that one-third of the appointments in the Indian Civil Service might well be left to be recruited for in India. Mr. Barrow, a senior member of the Bombay Civil Service, also urged before the Commission that the number might well be one-third. That indicates, that, in the case of one of these provincial governments and in the case of one senior member at least of the Indian Civil Service, it was recommended that the number might well be fixed at one third. As I have submitted Sir, that number will not satisfy the aspirations of Indians. The numerous protests that have been made against these recommendations should probably convince the Government of this, and if the proportion must be fixed I submit that it should be half of the total number of the posts in the Civil Service and not one-fourth as the Commission recommend.

“ I do not think, Sir, that I need advance any arguments in support of this proposition. It is a matter mainly to be considered now in what attitude, in what frame of mind, the Government will approach the solution of this question. If they approach it from pre-war conditions, if they approach it from the conditions which existed before these three years of great change had occurred, then they might as well spend their time in considering whether the recommendations of the Commission should not be accepted. If, on the other hand, they will bear in mind the announcement of the policy made by His Majesty's Government that responsible government is the aim of

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British policy in India, if they will bear in mind the announcement made by His Excellency that the employment of Indians in an ever-increasing measure in the higher services of the country is essential to the attainment of the goal of self-government which His Majesty's Government had announced then I am sure the Government will consider it their duty to revise the whole question in that light, and if they do so they will have to consider what it is that will satisfy the aspirations of Indians. Now, Sir, we are not asking merely for a few loaves and fishes of the higher services. We want that in our country, in the course of a few years—it may be a few decades—Indians should be able to occupy the same positions of trust and responsibility as the educated men of other countries occupy in their own country. For the attainment of that object we have urged an equal intellectual test. If that is not accepted, we say 'very well, fix a proportion, but half of the posts is the minimum that can reasonably satisfy us.' Our British fellow subjects who compete at present for the Indian Civil Service do so because, owing to circumstances which existed here in India, they have been doing so for a long time and the claims of Indians have not been properly admitted and acknowledged or properly given effect to. But in the future that lies before us, they will have to consider whether, if Indians are to have responsible Government, they should not be admitted in a larger and larger measure into the administration of their country.

"There are two questions which arise in this connection. These two questions were urged in the debate on the previous occasion. One was that the British character of the administration has to be maintained. On this point, Sir, I wish very respectfully to point out—and I hope none of my European friends will misunderstand me—whether it is not time for them to look at this question in a different light, whether instead of harping upon the necessity of maintaining the British character of the administration, they should not now say that the character of the administration should be Indian, as modified, influenced, corrected, if you please, improved, by association with our British fellow subjects. The British character of the administration does not require that Britishers in large numbers should be employed in the Indian Civil Service and other services. The British character of the administration has been imprinted upon the country by the institutions which our British fellow-subjects have established in India. Those institutions are not going to be interfered with. The ideals which they have led us to appreciate, the ideals which they have established in this country, will be maintained in their full entirety, even when the number of British officers in the services is diminished, even when it is very largely diminished. The principles for which British administration stands are not confined only now to the administration of India. It is the proud boast of England that it has led other countries, with which it is not even connected in any way, to adopt many principles of British administration, British justice and British ideas of freedom and self-government. Those ideas, those institutions, will be maintained, I hope, and improved in their maintenance by their being Indianised wherever it is necessary; but the great thing to be aimed at for the full development of India and to enable her to work out her own destiny, is that the character of the administration, while it preserves all that is best in the English system of administration, should be specially, particularly, definitely Indian, and that means that all that was best in our own Indian civilisation, Hindu and Muhammadan, should now be blended and mixed, in order to improve the present British system of administration which obtains in India. That system, Sir, as it obtains in this country is not, I am sorry to say, either purely British or purely Indian. It is not purely British because it does not conform to all the principles which govern British administration in the British Isles. It departs from it in many respects into which it is not necessary for me to go on this occasion. It is not Indian. What is needed is that in future a system should be developed which should be mainly Indian, influenced and

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improved, as far as it may be, by the adoption and maintenance of the principles of British administration which have been accepted and found to be good and sound in practice. And here I may say that this has already been very much realised in practice in those Indian States where the British administration and the Indian administration have been blended together with very happy results and with results which are far more satisfactory than have yet been obtained in British India.

“ Now, Sir, the second point I would refer to is the consideration of British interests. It has again and again been urged that, as British interests have to be protected, the admission of a very large number of Indians into the services is a matter of doubtful expediency. The other day one of my friends urged that the railway, steamer and other industrial interests had to be protected. Railway interests are largely Indian. It is the people of India who have contributed 500 crores and more for building up the railways. They are owned by the Government of India. The few railways that may be owned by Companies will, I hope, before long be bought up by the Government of India. So far as steamers are concerned the interests of trade and commerce are of a temporary character. They come and go. Every week they make purchases and they make sales, and those interests we have no fear of suffering if the administration is somewhat modified. As far as industrial interests are concerned, we wish to have more of these. We wish that our British fellow-subjects who desire to come and establish concerns amongst us will come and co-operate with us in doing so, and I do not see why they should apprehend any danger. There are other countries besides India where English capital is invested. I suppose it is invested in Japan ; I suppose it is invested in China also ; and I do not know that my English fellow-subjects desire that they should have a hand in the Government of either China or Japan. I submit, Sir, that English interests even when they are represented by English industrial interests compare as nothing before the vast interests of the 315 millions of His Majesty's Indian subjects ! The question to consider is what the interests of the great bulk of the population demand, and in considering those interests undoubtedly to bear in mind the interests of even the smaller body. I do not wish that there should be any conflict of European and Indian interests in that direction. This country is a very vast one and I think that even when we develop, as we hope to develop in the not distant future, into a country with full self-governing institutions, even then I venture to think that we shall have very great room for our European fellow subjects who will wish to come and trade with us. Therefore, I submit, Sir, that neither the argument of British interests nor the argument of the necessity for maintaining the British character of the administration ought to stand in the way of determining the proportion of Indians which ought to be employed in the public services of their own country.

I have submitted that so far back as 1893, one Provincial Government recommended that it should be one-third, and I urge now that, if a minimum is to be fixed, it should be a half and not less. I suggest that, bearing in mind that the London door will be open still to Indians ; because our whole object is that there should be no limit placed to the number of Indians who should be employed, the only limit being the limit of intellectual test, capacity and character. If we are found on a fair and equal intellectual test to be inferior to our English fellow-subjects, we shall be content to keep back. If we prove that in an equal test we are not inferior to our English fellow-subjects, we have every right to enter the service of our own country. I say without hesitation we have a preferential right, a very much preferential right to enter the services of our own country as against our English fellow-subjects. Therefore I submit that there should be no limit placed, and that an equal test should be open to all ; or, if there must be a limit placed, that the limit should be only so far as recruitment in India is concerned and that it should be not less than half.

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INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

[*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya ; Rai Bahadur Bishan Dutt Shukul.*] [24TH SEPTEMBER, 1917.]

" I hope Government, in considering this question, will bear in mind that they have to satisfy Indian aspirations in such a way that all feelings of acerbity, all feelings of harshness, in considering the position of Indians in the public services of their own country, should be obliterated. Indians should feel that they have as good, as reasonable, as fair an opportunity of rising to the higher ranks of those services as their English fellow-subjects have in the services of their own country. In order to bring that about the question has to be approached not from the point of view of how many Indians may be admitted into the public services, but from the point of view of what are the facilities which should be given to Indians in order that they may enter it in as large numbers as possible. The appointment of Englishmen to the public services of India should in future be regarded as an abnormal thing to be maintained only for a certain time. The normal thing that should be aimed at is the appointment of Indians in as large numbers as possible.

" For these reasons I commend this Resolution to the consideration of Government."

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Bishan Dutt Shukul :—" Sir, the various aspects of the question now before the Council have already been so exhaustively dealt with during the previous debates and in the eloquent speech of the Hon'ble Mover to-day that in according my support to this Resolution I do not propose to enter into all those details and speculations, as to what the position of Indians in the higher services of the country should now have been, if the provision of the Act of 1833, and the Proclamation of 1858, in the matter, had been loyally carried out.

" I would rather rest the case for the recruitment in the future of Indians and Europeans in the Indian Civil Service, in equal numbers, on those very grounds, which have induced the responsible authorities now, as is apparent from Lord Islington's speech, to advocate that the Executive Councils should be composed half of Indians and half Europeans. As I said in the speech which I made in support of Hon'ble Mr. Shafi's Resolution Government will hereafter be subjected to continuous and incessant popular pressure and to my mind Government would be lacking in one of the essential elements of strength, if Indians are not, equally with the Europeans, made responsible for the administration of the country. In that view of the case, where once the departure is made in appointing men to high office, it is no use, in fact, it is even dangerous to appoint a few men only here and there in the service. As Justice Rahim has put it, ' that will solve no problem.' The proportion to be fixed should be such as would dispel the feeling of helpless isolation which is sure to take possession of their minds under present conditions, and as would enable them, in the words of Mr. Chaubal, collectively to feel, that the responsibility, for strong and wise Government of the people, rests as much on them, as on the European members in the services. Sir, there is a constant call for our co-operation made in these days. In local bodies, Legislative Councils and other spheres, that co-operation is being rendered in varying degrees. But the co-operation can never be complete unless in the Services themselves Indians occupy an equal status and enjoy equal privileges. As in the case of the Executive Councils so also in the Indian Civil Service considerations both of justice and expediency seem to me to require an equal proportion of Indians and Europeans. Sir, there is plenty of administrative talent available in this country and it is but fair that an equal chance is given to it, and that it should be unreservedly drawn upon.

" Sir, I think the time has come, especially in view of the abundant proofs of loyalty given by Indians in the present war, that questions arising from jealousy of races and the rivalry for public employment should altogether vanish. We are now on the eve of an important reconstruction of the Empire. We expect before long that there will be a large extension of the principle of representation in this country. The Resolution now before the Council is

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therefore not only modest but most opportune. It definitely lays down the exact proportion of posts in the Civil Services, which should go to Indians. It places before the Council that 'irreducible minima' nothing less than which will satisfy the legitimate aspirations of educated Indians. An adverse decision on this point is sure to lead to disappointment and create a feeling of dissatisfaction amongst the influential educated classes of this vast country. On the other hand, if this Resolution is accepted, it will not only remove a long standing grievance, but will also bring about between the Government and the people that complete sympathy and that mutual understanding of each other's motives and actions, which is absolutely essential in the best interests of the country and that of the good Government as well. For this reason, above all, I am sure this Resolution will commend itself to the acceptance of the Council.

"The Hon'ble the Home Member already assured us the other day that Government would be quite willing to concede to us a fair share in highest services of the country and that fair share, I beg to submit, Sir, is 50 per cent. as demanded by the Hon'ble Member in the Resolution he now moves."

The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi:—

"Sir, though it was unfortunate that Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan's Resolution on simultaneous Civil Service Examinations in India and in England was lost at the last meeting of the Council, I hope my Hon'ble colleagues will not be reluctant to accept the motion which we are just discussing. Sir, in the opening speech of His Excellency the Viceroy at this Council on the 5th instant, His Excellency was pleased to observe that one of the three ways in which we were to travel on our way to the final attainment of our goal was the greater admission of our countrymen into the higher and more responsible offices of the State in various departments. Speaking in a different language, the late Secretary of State for India, Mr. Chamberlain, said not many months ago that Indians could no longer remain content as mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. Sir, with the growth of national consciousness among my people, there has been a greater and greater demand for admission into ranks which for a long time have remained closed for our people. The Government is now getting awakened to the fact that it would no longer be wise or expedient to refuse admission to Indians of proved merit and qualifications, and almost every year some new offices and some new doors of employment are being opened out for Indians. But, Sir, it must not be forgotten that the Indian Civil Service is the highest service in the State and is the service to which a very large number of our educated countrymen naturally desire to get admitted into. Unfortunately, the conditions of the Indian Civil Service Examination have not hitherto been greatly helpful to the fulfilment of their aspirations. Sir, it is no good to deprive ambitious Indians of the opportunities of life they seek, for, ambition deferred, like hope, 'maketh the heart sick.' The consequent disappointment naturally resolves itself into a grievance of the people and a source of considerable embarrassment to the Government. I would, under the circumstances, very much wish the Hon'ble Home Member to accept the present motion of my Hon'ble friend, for it does not make an impossible demand or a demand that the Government should be reluctant to accept. The Public Services Commission recommends a sort of competitive examination to be held in India for the purpose of filling up not more than one-fourth of the total number of posts included in the cadre of the Indian Civil Service, but this recommendation even if given effect to will be far from satisfying the requirements and aspirations of the Indian people. I think Pandit Madan Mohan's proposal to increase this number from one-fourth to one-half is only a fair and reasonable demand, and I, therefore, feel no hesitation whatever in supporting this motion."

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[*Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis ; Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma ; Sir William Vincent.*] [24TH SEPTEMBER, 1917.]

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis:—"Sir, this resolution is a practical solution of the differences of opinion that exist in the country concerning the higher appointments that should be given to Indians. I am sure that the suggestion embodied herein will be more in conformity with the recommendations of the Public Services Commission and with the expert opinion that has been formed on the subject. In gradually following the line of action laid down in this resolution there will be not much disturbance in the machinery of Government as at present constituted. It is a machinery which, as is said somewhere is very delicately poised. I am sure that this proposal if approved and gradually given effect to will for a good long time meet the requirements of this country. The concession is not asked for as a reward for services rendered by the people in this crisis. That is a duty which the people as loyal subjects of the King Emperor have to do; but this proposition with salaries adjusted according to Indian conditions will be a relief to the finances of the country when help will be most necessary, and when the country along with an accelerated progress in matters like education, sanitation and development of communications will be required to pay very heavily for the defence of the country, both as regards per Army and Navy."

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma:—"Sir, I have great pleasure in supporting this resolution, and my reasons are briefly as follow. For the purpose of my argument I shall assume that the strength of the Indian Civil Service officers that is found necessary at present in the several provinces will continue to be found necessary hereafter also. I shall take for my example the province of Bihar and Orissa. This province was formed in 1912. It has gone through the stress of the war; its people cannot be said to be less warlike or turbulent than the other people of India. Patna or Pataliputra was the ancient capital of India for a very long time, and therefore if the virile qualities of the people continue much the same I am sure that it cannot be said that the requirements of that province would be in any way less than the requirements of other provinces. Now this province has a population of 34 millions and we have been able, thanks to the officers there, to manage successfully the administration of that province through a trying period with 104 officers—I believe it is between 104 and 112. At that rate, taking the population of British India at 231 millions, I think the number of British officers that will be absolutely required would be about 728. We have at present 1,411 officers. Therefore taking it that the requirements of security demand as large a British element as exists at present in Bihar and Orissa, I think Indians can be safely granted half the number of posts in the existing Indian Civil Service Cadre. It is to be noted that the Commissioners recommend the increase of the Indian element therein."

"I may be permitted to point out in this connection that there are certain provinces whose districts are very small in area comparatively speaking and which seem to have too many British officers. I am not going into the past history of those provinces; at the time those provinces were formed it may be that it was felt to be necessary owing to the recent conquest of those provinces that a large British element should be introduced. But from the observations which fell the other day from His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, we may take it that a province like the Punjab could at present be managed with a very much smaller percentage of European officers than are at present found therein. His Honour paid a tribute to the common-sense and sanity of the people of that province and to the perfect loyalty therein. If that be so, and if 34 millions of people in Bihar and Orissa can be managed by 104 officers, why should a population of 19 millions in the Punjab have 153....."

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent:—"May I ask the Hon'ble Member what population he assigned to Bihar?"

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[*Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma ; Sir William Vincent.*]

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma :—“ 34 millions. ”

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent :—“ Yes ; that is correct. ”

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma :—“ Similarly with regard to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The United Provinces have 47 millions or say 28 more, and they have got 237 officers there. The Hindi-speaking people occupying the United Provinces, a large proportion of the population thereof, are very nearly allied to those in the adjoining province of Bihar ; and I fail to see why the Indian element in the United Provinces cannot be safely enlarged to a very considerable extent.

“ The same observation holds good as regards Bombay. That is one aspect of the question. I know that there are differences in the revenue, and judicial work therein ; wide differences ; but I may point out, Sir, that the Indian has been found to be as good a Collector of Revenue as the European ; and as to judicial administration, it has been recognised by all that the Indian is efficient, and several witnesses have deposed that the number may be increased to as much as two-thirds. Consequently assuming that the revenue which some of other provinces realise larger than that of Bihar and Orissa, which is a permanently-settled province, I take it that so far as the security question is concerned, the British element need not be as large as it is at present in those provinces.

“ Then again the evidence shows that many of the witnesses did not think that it would be unsafe, so far as the executive services are concerned, to go so far as one-third, and the judiciary according to some could be almost wholly composed of Indians and according to others two-thirds, half and three-fourths. Turning to page 223 of the Public Services Commission Report, we have there 1,208 officers in the executive line and 242 in the judicial line. But I am afraid that the assistant collectors who form the training reserve and leave reserve have been put almost wholly under the head executive rather than under the judicial.

The number of superior judicial officers is 193, and if we take the training reserve at 95 per cent, I think the total number will come to about 376. If we give two-thirds to Indians the total will be 250 and then one-third of the executive officers will be 345. The total would come to about 600 or a little less than half the present strength of the Civil Service. There is another point that the Public Services Commission have realised and that is that some of these districts may have to be broken up and Additional District Collectors may have to be appointed. In such a case the number of Indian members can be safely increased and that would bring us to a limit of half, as has been pointed by the Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya. The reason perhaps why Bihar is content with a small number is the fact that it has been constituted recently and that its revenue is small compared with the revenue of the other provinces. From the security point of view, and that is the point I am now dealing with, I do not think that there is any difference. There is not much complaint with regard to the sufficiency of the number of officers, it has been vaguely suggested before the Public Services Commission but it has not been pressed. Turning to the cadre of the superior services we find that only Collectors are in it in Bihar and Orissa. Whereas, in Madras Sub-collectors are included therein which accounts for the differences in the strength of the cadres in the several provinces. I have another observation to make and it is this : hereafter it will be extremely difficult to induce very clever men to come from the United Kingdom having regard to the fact that after this devastating war there will be fewer brilliant men there. In these circumstances it seems to me that the Government will have to be satisfied with the best Indian talent for a long time to come and for that reason I would urge that there should be an increasing proportion of Indians in the Civil Service. May I also point out that if the strength of the executive councils be increased it follows necessarily that in the administration also the Indian element will have to be strengthened. With these words I beg to support the Resolution.”

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[*Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru ; Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda*] [24TH SEPTEMBER, 1917.]

The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru:—" Sir, I confess that I can accept this Resolution only as a second-best. The real sentiments of the educated classes are those which are embodied in the Resolution which was moved by my Hon'ble friend on the last occasion. Sir, the moment you begin to fix a minimum or proportion you must recognise the fact that you are proceeding against the oft-repeated rule that only fitness and capacity shall be the test for admission into the higher ranks of the Services in India but perhaps we must recognise that in the circumstances existing at the present moment we must be prepared to accept the second-best. Now Sir, throughout the debate which took place on that occasion reliance was placed upon the desirability of the British character of the administration continuing in India. Sir, history does not record an instance of one nation giving up its character altogether and assuming the character of another nation and if we analyse this argument we find that we cannot look forward to any time in the future history of India when Indians will have ceased to be Indians and become Britishers in character. It therefore follows that for all time to come we must be prepared to find this argument about the British character continuing to dominate the administration in India put forward. This will be if I may draw an analogy from law, the worst of perpetuities in politics. Fortunately there is an experiment which has been tried in India and which I submit should be taken into consideration. For 50 years from the year 1831 to 1881, what is now called the State of Mysore was under the British administration and in 1881, it was given back to the Maharaja of Mysore. Well, I take it that it requires some hardihood to maintain that the administration of Mysore after 1881, has suffered in virility of character or general efficiency. This only during this period that India has witnessed the spectacle of the State being ruled by such wise and far-seeing statesmen as Sir, Shahdri Iyer and Sir, Serhayya Iyer. Again we cannot forget that the administration is not so simple as it may appear; there are British interests to be protected, mining interests to be safeguarded; and it cannot be maintained that merely because the administration of Mysore has since 1881, been in the hands of Indians, foreign capitalists have suffered or that their interests have been sacrificed in any particular manner. We have been under British administration certainly for 100 years and we have been receiving education in our universities for about 60 years; we have daily been observing the course of British administration and coming in contact with British administrators. If in spite of our long association with British administration and British traditions, we have not been able to alter our point of view in regard to certain matter, then I venture to think that even after 200 years the same argument will hold good, *viz.*, that we have not absorbed anything of British character. Sir, we have been accustomed to associate fair-play and justice and a scrupulousness for the fulfilment of pledges with British character, and it is to this element of British character, that I would appeal on this occasion. I would earnestly urge that British Administrators in India must rise above these petty considerations and must cease to urge in season and out of season arguments of this character which really are devoid of any merit; they must recognise that new forces have now to be reckoned with. You cannot always count upon people accepting arguments which as the Hon'ble Sir D. Wacha pointed out were urged 30 years ago and which are now urged again. They cannot bring any conviction to those who hold different opinions. On these grounds, Sir, I strongly support the Resolution."

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda:—" Sir, I have to say only a few words. I think that the matter was fully gone into in the discussion on the earlier part of the Resolution and has moreover been re-argued in the speeches of my Hon'ble colleagues. I only wish to say this, that after the declaration the other day by His Excellency the Viceroy of the goal of British Administration in India, and that it is essential to progress towards that goal that Indians in steadily increasing proportions should be admitted into the higher grades of the various services and departments, and that if we are to make any progress at all, India must have an increasing number of men

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[*Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda ; Mr. M. B. Dadabhoj ; Mr. Malcolm N. Hogg ; Sir William Vincent.*]

versed not only in the details of every day administration but in the whole art of Government. I say that after this you cannot resist the principle of the Resolution unless you are disloyal to His Excellency. We are not surely making any extravagant demands, trying to oust the British Officers altogether and monopolise all the higher appointments, but what we do ask is this, that you should give up a portion of the monopoly which you have been enjoying for the last 150 years. I do not think, Sir, that our friends the representatives of Commerce and Industry need at all be alarmed at the prospect of half the appointments being given to Indians that the capital which they have invested in the country is in any risk, and it may be pointed out in passing that that capital has been realised many times over in the shape of high profits and dividends which they have earned. But that apart, I submit, Sir, there cannot be any reasonable belief that the Indian officers of the Civil Service will do anything to rob them of their capital and if there was the slightest chance of that, why, the British portion of the service would protest it. With these few words, I beg to support the Resolution."

The Hon'ble Mr. M. B. Dadabhoj :—" Sir, I wish to contribute only a word to this debate. In wholly associating myself with my Hon'ble colleagues, I deem it my duty to point out that the proportion of one-fourth recommended by the Public Services Commission is wholly inadequate and is not sufficient to meet the growing aspirations of the people."

The Hon'ble Mr. Malcolm N. Hogg :—" Sir, I had not intended to take part in the debate on this Resolution, because I think that the question of the exact proportion of Indians to be admitted into the Civil Service is one which should be very carefully and thoroughly discussed during the forthcoming visit of the Secretary of State to India, and I admit that it is a subject on which I have no hard and fast opinion as to what the exact proportion should be. But the Hon'ble Mover has asked why the members of the European community should regard with any misgiving the unrestricted admission of Indians into the Indian Civil Service, and why we should wish the process to be a gradual one, and I think that a similar question was asked by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sastri the other day. Well, Sir, I do not wish to take up the time of the Council by going over the ground again which was covered by the speech of my Hon'ble friend Sir Hugh Bray and by myself last Thursday. But I do wish to give to Hon'ble Members just one reason which arises out of recent events, and in giving it I do not think that I shall say anything that should give legitimate offence to any one. We have recently heard and seen the discussion of the policy of passive resistance in the press and on the platform as a legitimate weapon of political agitation. I do not know exactly what was intended by the term but if it means anything at all, it implies deliberate resistance to and obstruction of Government in some shape or form. At the present time, Sir, the Empire is engaged in a life and death struggle, for freedom and existence and needs the whole hearted support of every one of its citizens in the prosecution of the war. I wish to say with all the earnestness at my command that this need of the Empire cannot be met and this duty of its citizens cannot be fulfilled by passive resistance to or obstruction of Government in any shape or form whatever. My community viewed with great regret and grave disapproval the discussion of a policy which they regard as wholly illegitimate and inconsistent with....."

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent :—" May I rise to a point of order. I submit that the question of passive resistance has no connection with the question of admitting Indians into the Civil Service."

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[*The Vice-President ; Mr. Malcolm N. Hogg ; Rai Sitanath Ray Bahadur ; Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay ; Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma*] [24TH SEPTEMBER, 1917.]

The Hon'ble the Vice-President:—"I think the Hon'ble Member will recognise that the only question before the Council is whether the proportion of Indians and Europeans in the Civil Service should be half and half."

The Hon'ble Mr. Malcolm N. Hogg:—"I bow to your ruling, Sir I was only trying to answer the question which was put by the Hon'ble Mover. I therefore have nothing more to say except that my point was that the recent discussion of this subject was one of the reasons of our misgivings."

The Hon'ble Rai Sitanath Ray Bahadur:—"Sir, instead of remaining a silent voter which may indicate my lukewarmness in a matter of such vital importance to my countrymen, I feel that it is necessary that I should give expression to my warm sympathy with the Resolution which has been moved by my Hon'ble friend. The experiment of placing districts, I would say, important districts in charge of Indian officers has proved everywhere very successful. As pointed out by Mr. J. N. Gupta, the present Officiating Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division, in his evidence before the Public Services Commission during the noisy days of the Bengal partition agitation it was found that districts in charge of Indian officers were those which were more quiet and kept well in hand and which manifested lesser signs of restlessness or discontent as compared with the districts in charge of European officers.

"At present in Bengal there are two very important Divisions which have recently been placed in charge of Indian Commissioners and which are being well administered. There is no whisper of mismanagement there; nor is there any symptom that those Divisions are falling into pieces.

"As for the judicial administration of the country by Indian judicial officers, the universal testimony is that nothing could be better and that the administration of justice and of law by Indian officers has indeed proved very successful,—it has proved an unqualified success.

"Now it has often been said that the British character of the administration would be gone if a larger number of Indian officers were employed. To that my reply is, that these Indian officers have received English training and by long association with British officers they have imbibed a good deal of that British character of which now-a-days we hear so much. They are, therefore, quite fitted to conduct the administration of Districts and Divisions admirably. Under these circumstances as the first Resolution has been negatived, I give my humble support to this alternative Resolution."

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay:—"Sir, I was almost going to rise to a point of order when my friend Mr. Sarma in the course of his remarks on this Resolution insinuated that the province of Bihar and Orissa could be 'turbulent'.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma:—"I said also that the people of Bihar and Orissa were as loyal as any other people."

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay:—"I am glad to have this disclaimer. Sir, I do not pretend to know much about the activities of Madras, but from what I do know of them I can assure my Hon'ble friend that there is no chance, not the ghost of a chance, of Bihar and Orissa ever trying to imitate his province in those activities. Now as to the Resolution which is before the Council, I give my hearty support to it on behalf of the province which I have the honour to represent in this Council."

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[24TH SEPTEMBER, 1917.]

[*Mr. Mazharul Haque ; Sir John Donald.*]

The Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque :—“ Sir, I am afraid I cannot support my friend the Hon'ble Panditjee in this Resolution. When he moved last Friday that the Civil Service examination should be held simultaneously in England and in India, I gave him my hearty support and I do not wish that the principle underlying that Resolution should be frittered away by the limitations which are contained in today's Resolution, and on this ground only I am going to vote against the present Resolution. Sir, what is the fear in the minds of my friends the members of the Civil Service which makes them oppose this Resolution? What is at the bottom of this nervousness? I believe they would admit that it is an injustice, a long-standing injustice under which the people of this country have been suffering. The fact is that the Members of the Civil Service are afraid that if the examination be held both in England and in India they will not be able to hold their own with the Indians and compete with them in the Civil Service examination. Has the British Government come to this pass, that they are going to administer this country by a class of people who cannot compete with Indians intellectually? If the British nation has come to this pass, then I say, Sir, it has come to a very bad pass indeed. We Indians want no favour, we demand merely an act of justice and nothing else. We say let every one compete with us and those who succeed let them administer the country. We will not have inefficient and incapables in our Government. Sir, it has been said repeatedly, that the people of this country are not unanimous in their views and opinions. Hindus are fighting Muhammadans and Muhammadans are fighting Hindus. I confess that there was a time in the history of India when the two communities did not pull on well together, but now that time has passed, and I believe there is hardly a Muhammadan, not even my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Shañ, who would say that Hindus would not like to be governed by Muhammadans or that Muhammadans would not like to be governed by Hindus. The people of this country are absolutely united and they do not want that the services of this country should have any incapables or inefficients in their midst.

“ Sir, it is rather strange for me to get up and oppose my Hon'ble friend the Punditjee, but I am afraid that the country will not approve of his Resolution and I cannot find it in my conscience to perpetuate inequality between Indians and Europeans as this Resolution intends to.”

The Hon'ble Sir John Donald :—“ Sir, may I bring to the notice of the Council one important point which does not appear to have been considered at all? It might have come up before the Public Services Commission, but on taking up the Report I discovered that the Commission decided to have nothing to do with the Political Department to which I belong, so I did not read it with avidity, and indeed it would be waste of time to read it, if the criticisms of certain Hon'ble Members are correct. The point is this. In the part of India from which I come the people firmly believe and honestly believe that the Government of India, as at present constituted, is carried on by means of the 'Iqbal-i-Sirkar.' There is something spiritual about this idea, and the people of the North-West Frontier Province think that this 'Iqbal' has been bestowed by an invisible power higher than any man. As long as this 'Iqbal-i-Sarkar' is in the ascendant, so long will life and property be safe in India. Should the changes now advocated be followed by the disappearance of the 'Iqbal-i-Sirkar' it is impossible to conceive what might happen in this country, and for this reason alone innovations in the public services in India should be introduced with the utmost care. It has been decided that the British character of the administration must be maintained and I presume that by this is meant the employment of Britishers to a reasonable extent in all the services. If this is really so, then there is no need for alarm. With regard to the safety of property, it has been suggested that in my Province it would be as well for some people to convert heavy goods into something portable to make them safe. I will here refer to a personal incident which bears on the manner in which the North-West Frontier Province is governed at present and for this reason I hope it may

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[*Sir John Donald ; Mr. Srinivasa Sastri ;* [21TH SEPTEMBER, 1917.]
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Shafi.]

pass. Only in May last my gaiters and boots were taken by some robbers—and they were portable enough! Within three days of the robbery some of my Muhammadan fellow subjects seized 12 camels belonging to the tribe to which the robbers belonged, with the result that I got some measure of redress, which I would not otherwise have got. Such action though summary, was quite legal and in accordance with the provisions of a tiny book by means of which the Frontier is ruled at present. It is called the Frontier Crimes Regulation and in it will be found a good system of co-operation between the rulers and the ruled for the maintenance of order in my simple Province in which many members of the Indian Civil Service as at present organised have done a lot for its prosperity. It has also been said that because there were Brahmin Kings of Kabul, there should be now or in a short time Brahmin members of the Indian Civil Service to rule over the North-West Frontier Province. Up to 1009 there were Buddhists in Ghandhara, the modern Peshawar, but that is ancient history. It has also been mentioned that Ranjit Singh had an Agent in Kandahar, but I do not think this is correct. All I know is that in certain parts of the North-West Frontier Province Hindus have still to wear a distinctive head dress at the bidding of their Muhammadan compatriots, and only in recent times Hindus were only permitted to ride donkeys, but this invidious practice was put an end to on the advent of the British Raj through the intervention of the Indian Civil Service.

“I hope, Sir, patience and toleration will always be the attributes of this assembly”

The Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri:—“Sir, I wish to make one observation in reply to the criticism which the Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque passed on the resolution we are considering. I sympathise with his point of view, but there really is no abatement on the part of the Hon'ble Pandit of the demand made for simultaneous examinations. It is true we lost the Resolution in this Council, but it by no means follows that the Government of India and the authorities in England will fail on that account to give due consideration to the arguments that have been put forward. That Resolution is before them, we are not abandoning it, but at the same time, considering the strength of the feeling on the other side, considering how strongly the question of simultaneous examinations will be opposed, it is necessary on our part to consider any alternative proposal that the Commission or the Government of India may put forward.

“I do not think there is anything wrong in doing so. It is not part of wisdom to go on crying ‘simultaneous examinations, simultaneous examinations’ even when that question is, to take the worst that may happen, put aside altogether. Supposing simultaneous examinations became out of the question when the whole matter comes up for consideration before the highest authorities, should we not have something to say with regard to the alternative that has been proposed? The Commission have proposed a proportion of 25 per cent. Ought we not to say clearly what we feel on the subject of that proposal? And it is because of that I conceive that the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has thought it proper to bring forward this Resolution.

“Having said so much, I also think, Sir, that there is something on the merits of this question to commend it to the favourable consideration of members on both sides. If we are not to have the moral and theoretical equality implied in the simultaneous examinations, there ought to be at least a numerical equality between Europeans and Indians, and that is what this Resolution asks for. We do not want to be put behind in our own country. That is all that we ask for in this Resolution.”

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi:—
“Sir, when I came into the Council Chamber this morning, I intended to give a silent vote in favour of this Resolution, but, in view of what has fallen from

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the lips of my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque, I think it is necessary to say a few words. My friend the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri has in his usually sober manner made it perfectly clear why it has been necessary for my friend the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to put forward an alternative proposal. It is unnecessary for me to add anything to what he has said except this, that, perhaps the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri might have considered that the speech delivered by my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque was intended for this Council. I, for one, think that he was addressing really not the Council but a certain section of the public outside.

“ With these few words I support the Resolution.”

The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha:—“ Sir, so far as I understand the present Resolution it is this, that half the number of the members of the future Civil Service should be Indians. The objection urged against it is the maintenance of British character, that is to say, that the Indian administration should have as its chief characteristic British character. Well, Sir, I fully and very frankly admit that the British character of the Indian administration must be maintained. British character has done a great deal of good to India during the last 125 years. I believe, that for the good of India the stamp of British character on the administration should be maintained. I believe that, so far as that feature goes, even my Indian friends will not dispute the proposition. It is understood, of course, that the British character should be there. The question then is, why there should be any preponderance? As I, Sir, said in my speech last time, the Charter Act of 1833, only prescribes that in the services of India men of ‘ proved merit and ability ’ alone should of course be requisitioned, irrespective of creed and race; and in subsequent Acts up to now, so far as I am aware, there has been no such condition made that there should be a preponderance of the British, as far as the Civil Service is concerned. In order to understand clearly the whole question, we must go back to the genesis of this covenanted Civil Service. Those who have studied the history of the East India Company will easily understand that the covenanted service came more and more into existence with the territorial sovereignty of that Company. The company was a trading company at first. Then it became a territorial sovereign and its territorial sovereignty demanded, of course, a certain amount of administrative ability. That administrative ability in those days was not to be found in India. The administration had to be carried on in English and a knowledge of English was non-existent in India at the time. As they advanced, Indians have, of course, risen to high offices on account of the English education they have received. Universities have been established and so forth. But the genesis is this, that because the East India Company from the days of its sovereignty was obliged to import covenanted servants, or clerks as they were then called, the tradition of predominance has gone forth, and from that time that tradition has remained as many other traditions have remained. But a time came, particularly after the transfer of the East India Company to the Crown, when there was a change. From that time forward a sort of rivalry began, very dim at first. But it became very transparent and acute later on as the competitive Civil Service examination was established in 1855, and Indians began to compete. Then, of course, with the advance of Indian education on one side and the numerical strength of the Civil Service on the other side, there ensued that rivalry, a rivalry of supremacy, as to whether it was the British service which should preponderate or whether it was the Indian service which should preponderate; and all the friction that has occurred and which continues to prevail is owing to this rivalry for offices on the one side and on the other. Every time this question has been discussed the Government of India have brought forward this expediency of maintaining British character on the administration. But, admitting as I say, that the British character of the administration should be maintained, where is the necessity to have this limit that only 25 per cent of the appointments should

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go to Indians and no more ? I think, Sir, that the cause of justice and the cause of fair play, both demand that this limit should not exist. If I, personally, were asked, I should say have no limit whatever. As Indians advance more and more in administrative capacity and ability, and in strength of character, I think, that the character of the British administration itself should be so amalgamated with that of the Indian character, that, necessarily, the future Government of India must consider that the Indian administration should be Indianised as far as possible, and, therefore, the number of Europeans in the Civil Service should, as far as may be practicable, be limited to a very small number. 'Thus far and no further,' should be the limits. We have not yet come to that finality, and, I am afraid, that finality will not be reached for another quarter or even half a century. In the meantime, of course, the administration must be carried on, but simultaneously Indian aspirations now rising, should be reasonably satisfied. It is the duty of the Government to see that those aspirations are so satisfied. The question is how may they be satisfied ? All this unrest which is going on in the country has its root cause in many things. One of these, one of the most important, is this question of preponderance of the British in the Civil Service. It is but fair that as Indians advance in administrative ability, in strength of character and in other desirable ways the Government of India should see that the administration is more and more Indianised, slowly and steadily. That being my opinion, I consider, Sir, that the proportion of half and half is a very good one to be given, though, as I say, the time must come, must inevitably come, when even this half and half proportion must be increased, and the present figures will have to be reversed, that is, the Indian Civil Servants should consist of 75 per cent. and the British Civil Servants of 25 per cent. That will be the final stage. I am not a prophet, but living among my own countrymen and knowing their spirit of loyalty and appreciation of British administration, I have no doubt that that will eventually be the outcome. But for the present, Sir, I consider the Hon'ble Pandit's Resolution is a very good one, and that the half and half proportion it recommends should be established."

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent :—“ I think I may say, Sir, that this Resolution illustrates very cogently the difficulties with which the Government of India have been confronted in dealing with these various resolutions on the report of the Public Services Commission. Historically the position is something as follows.

“After the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1870, it was decided that a number of Indians commonly known as Statutory Civilians should be nominated to the service up to a maximum of one-fifth of the cadre. That system of appointment was found unsatisfactory and has now been discontinued. In lieu thereof we have a certain number of listed posts, that is, posts ordinarily occupied by members of the Civil Service but which are filled by men promoted from the Provincial Service. The Commission now recommend—I think I am right in saying—some reduction in the number of listed posts. On the other hand, they recommend that a minimum of 25 per cent. of the superior posts should be allotted to Indians who should be given direct appointments in India. I think my Hon'ble friend, Mr. Sastri, said the other day that this figure was the maximum. If I am wrong will he correct me ? It is not so. It is the minimum proposed by the Commission. This would mean that altogether 189 superior posts and 102 inferior posts would be allotted to Indians appointed in India. And here too I should like to correct an error which I think the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma made the other day when he suggested—if I understood him correctly of course—that the Commission had recommended that Indians should be appointed to 189 posts in the service in all.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma :—“ Superior posts.”

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The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent :—“ I think the Hon'ble Member at that time did not specify superior posts; but anyhow I am merely putting before Council what the facts are. Mr. Justice Rahim was in favour of simultaneous examinations, but as an alternative he suggested that one-third of the cadre should be recruited in India. Sir Theodore Morison and Mr. Chaubal recommended that 25 per cent. of the service should be Indian. Mr. Chaubal at the same time suggested that 30 per cent. of the superior posts should in this way be reserved so as to secure a general rate of 25 per cent. all round. He pointed out—and it is a valid argument—that the proportion recommended by the Commission really only meant 21 per cent. of the total cadre and not—as people who examine the matter superficially might think—25 per cent.

The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha :—“ Sir, may I remind the Hon'ble Member of one thing, that in the minority report of the Commission half and half was suggested ? ”

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent :—“ I think I am correct in what I am saying, namely, that Mr. Justice Rahim recommended one-third. If I am incorrect I can only express my regret, but I have checked the statement recently. Various Indian witnesses suggested either 50 per cent. of the posts or 33 per cent.

“ Now with all these various suggestions before us, supported by arguments of more or less weight, I think that it is a little harsh to ask the Government of India to make on this subject any definite statement until they have consulted Local Governments and considered the very different requirements of different provinces. I am grateful to the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma for the compliment which he paid the province of Bihar and Orissa. I am afraid, however, that I suspected that there might be something—shall I say?—some unpleasant motive for it. At any rate I acknowledge gratefully the pleasant part of it. The actual position in Bihar is this: there are approximately 35½ million residents and about 140 civilians in the province. I am speaking here from recollection. There are about 1,200 or 1,400 civilians in the whole country for 315 million people. So the proportion is pretty well the same in Bihar as in the whole of the rest of India. The Council must also remember that Bihar is a very thickly populated country, so that its population is concentrated in a small area, and that in estimating the number of officers which is required for administering a province the question of area is of considerable importance. This is so for instance I believe in the Central Provinces. I think my Hon'ble friends from these Provinces will bear me out in this matter. Again, the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma compared my Province with the United Provinces. But it must be remembered—and this is a very important consideration—that in the United Provinces they have a temporary settlement except I believe in the Benares Division, whereas in Bihar and Orissa there is a permanent settlement. In any case the arguments which my Hon'ble friend adduces would appear to me to be more cogent on the question of reducing the general number of Civilians than in support of any alteration in the proportion of Indians and Europeans.

“ Now in dealing with the question to what extent appointments in the Indian Civil Service should be filled by recruitment in India, I think that the Council will admit there are certain points which will have to be considered. First of all, as I have said and I repeat, is the important question of retaining the British character of the administration. I do not say that this should necessarily be the determining factor, but it is a point which cannot be lost sight of if this country is to remain an integral part of the British Empire. Further the Government must consider British interests in this country. I do not say that they would necessarily be endangered by a change such as is contemplated. I do not want to suggest that. But I say the question of what

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change should be effected must be considered in relation to these and other important interests and the very grave responsibilities of the Government of India. I have been told that English capital in Japan and other countries does not need to be so protected. I dare say it does not. But those who have invested British capital in this country have invested on a very different understanding from that on which they invest it in foreign countries, namely on the understanding that the administration would continue British in character; I do not say necessarily in personnel. I think there is a great deal to be said for the argument that Indians who have been educated for some years in England might wholly or partially preserve that character--the British character of the administration--at any rate more effectively than Indians who are educated in this country. I do not know that this necessarily follows, but I think there is some force in this argument. Their outlook is widened and they do acquire a knowledge of facts and conditions outside this country.

"A minor point but of importance that would have to be considered in this connection is the number of listed posts which would have to be or which would be awarded to the subordinate services; and I think that the Council will recognise that officers who have rendered excellent service in the subordinate ranks are entitled to consideration. But I do not understand whether my Hon'ble friend the Pandit wishes to exclude them from his recommendations. I should like to be sure on that point. If they are included in this minimum of 50 per cent. then this argument is of no weight at all....."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"No, I want half the entire Cadre to be reserved for Indians."

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent:—"Including those listed posts or excluding them?"

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"Whatever is the total number of posts reserved for the Indian Civil Service when the new constitution comes in, I want half of that number reserved for Indians who will be recruited in this country."

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent:—"I again ask the Hon'ble Member, does he include the listed posts or does he exclude them?"

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"What I want is that whatever be the total number of posts which will be confined to the Indian Civil Service, I want half of that number to be reserved for Indians who will be admitted in this country."

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent:—"I must say that that is not an answer to my question."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"I exclude them at present; what I say is that whatever number may be determined upon eventually for the Indian Civil Service, I want half of that number reserved for Indians."

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent:—"I wish I had understood my Hon'ble friend more clearly; but if the listed posts are included in the 50 per cent which he seeks....."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"They are excluded at present."

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent:—"If they are excluded, the Council must remember that a large number of posts may have to be reserved for these officers of the Provincial Service, and that *pro tanto* the number of Englishmen in the service will be diminished below even 50 per cent. And this

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is a question that will also have to be examined. I have pointed out that the requirements of different provinces will have to be considered. These are the reasons for our not accepting this resolution at the present stage. I do not know if it is necessary for me to assure the Council, as I have done frequently before, that the Government of India has an open mind on this question, and they will only decide it after consulting all the authorities interested. They have every desire to increase the number of Indians in the service with a view particularly to associating them in the government of the country and affording them opportunities of training and administration which they at present, at any rate in some branches of the service, lack ; and I think the recent announcement of the Secretary of State, which was, as Mr. Montagu said, in complete accordance with the views of the Government of India, indicates this clearly. The Government of India cannot however accept any resolution binding them to any definite decision on this point at present. I think however that the Council may rest assured that the Government of India are approaching this question in a very reasonable and really sympathetic spirit.

"I have now got before me the actual quotation from Mr. Rahim's report, which was the minority report to which my Hon'ble friend, Sir Dinshaw Wacha alluded.

The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha :—"No. It was the Welby Commission Report ; that was 20 years ago."

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent :—"I beg your pardon ; I understood you to mean this report."

The Hon'ble Mr. M. A. Jinnah :—"It seems to me, Sir, useless to discuss these resolutions in view of the attitude of the Government which is now very clear, *viz.*, that they are awaiting the opinion of Local Governments and have not yet come to any decision. Therefore, it seems to me really that the time of the Council need not be taken up further. The other resolutions may be regarded as our expressed opinion on this side of the Council, unless the Hon'ble Members who are the Movers of the Resolutions think otherwise and wish to discuss them.

"With regard to this Resolution, the Hon'ble Mr. Haque said that as he voted for the first Resolution for simultaneous examination he could not logically support this Resolution. I certainly agree with him ; strictly logically he is right ; but supposing it is not possible for us to persuade the Government to accept the Resolution of simultaneous examinations....."

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent :—"Until we have consulted the Local Governments."

The Hon'ble Mr. M. A. Jinnah :—"Then in that case it is but right that this Council should consider the alternative and express its opinion whether the alternative should be accepted or not. Well, the only objections that have been raised against this alternative are the same objections, *viz.* ; that if 50 per cent of Indians get into the Indian Civil Service it would imperil the British character of the administration. Well, Sir, I want to know what is meant by the 'British character of the administration.' Is the meaning of this phrase, European element ? Is the meaning of this phrase, colour ? Or is the meaning of this phrase, those great qualities which have distinguished the European administrators of this country ? If the phrase 'British character of the administration' means those great qualities, *viz.*, uprightness, honesty, integrity, high sense of duty,—and I have no hesitation in acknowledging that many members of the Civil Service have displayed them in this country—I can understand it. If an Indian also has those qualities, and if such Indians are the preponderating element in the Civil Service, does that mean British

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character of administration or not? Or must it mean that we must have so many of a particular race, or colour. If latter is the meaning, Sir, I strongly object to such a rule or standard. No race, no question of religion or creed has to be considered in recruiting, our highest service. Efficiency is the only test and those qualities which I have mentioned above.

"I come next to the argument of the commercial classes which my Hon'ble friend Mr. Hogg represents. I have got very great respect for Mr. Hogg, Sir, and I know that he holds very liberal views. But I was really surprised that he should have brought in the question of passive resistance as an instance of how the commercial community might suffer. With very great respect for him, I submit it is not only irrelevant but, if it had any relevancy of talk at all, one might retort and say that some of the Anglo Indians at the present moment notably 'Madras Mail' are preaching and are guilty of insubordination. But those questions really must not be mixed up with this question before us today. How is the commercial interest going to suffer? If you have men who are competent and properly qualified in the service, how is the commercial interest going to suffer because they happen to be Indians. After all, it is nothing but the service we are recruiting, and why should there be any danger to the commercial community? What is going to happen to the commercial interests, I have not yet heard of. We know perfectly well that British capital is invested and employed in many parts of the world including India. For example, you have a large amount of British capital in South Africa where there is an overwhelming majority of Boers; and as a matter of fact we know that soon after the war broke out there was a great deal of disturbance there."

"Sir, as regards British capital, if this argument is to stand good what is and what will be the result? British capital on the one side, but what is it after all as against the enormous interests and stake of the people of this country, and of the sons of this country? What is this British capital that is trotted out over and over again? Are the interests of the people of India not to be considered? If you are going to apply this test of British capital in this country to maintain preponderating element of Europeans in the service, why, till doomsday you will never get over it. For when will the British capital disappear from India—God forbid I do not wish it to disappear. I trust that more may come in. But if that argument is to stand good for having preponderating element of Europeans then I say there will never be a change. I ask Sir, is that logical? I would answer and say that this argument is fallacious. All that we want is that the services may be recruited properly and efficiently. It is for this reason that Europeans are employed as foreign skill; but once you get the sons of the country who are capable and competent there is no justification for maintaining that there should be a certain number of Europeans. Therefore, Sir, I have no alternative but to support this Resolution. I must say that I am opposed to any proportion being fixed in favour of Indians or Europeans, Sir, we must have justice. I do not fully agree with any system where a proportion is laid down of any class, but if there is no other way, if there is no other course open, then I would vote for and support this Resolution as an alternative Resolution.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—"Sir, I think my friend Mr. Jinnah must be satisfied after he made his speech that the time of the Council has not been uselessly taken up, the contribution he has made strengthens the Resolution before the Council. We feel it our duty to lay our views before the Council because we know that reports have been called for from Local Governments and that the matter is being considered. Therefore we desire to place the complete case, so far as it lies in our power, before the Government. I must say, Sir, that I am thankful to the Hon'ble the Home Member for the concluding words of his speech where he said that the recommendations we were making will be considered in a reasonable and sympathetic spirit. I have no doubt that Government will give that consideration to the views we have placed before it. I wish that Government, and

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particularly the Hon'ble the Home Member, would approach the question in the spirit of those last words and would endeavour to find as many reasons to support our views as they do to oppose them. I am sure that with his great judicial acumen, his ability and long experience of the affairs of this country, he and his able colleague the Hon'ble Sir James DuBoulay are in the best position to lend their strong support to the cause of the educated community, we are satisfied with the decision we have heard today that they have promised to look at the matter in a very sympathetic and reasonable spirit. I beg to ask the Council to accept his assurance once for all on behalf of us Indians that we put forward this scheme in no spirit of hostility to Europeans or the Civil Service ; we want to approach this question as would be done by private gentlemen who wished to dispose of it as friends and fellow-subjects. I shall be content to leave the matter in their hands ; we have claimed no favoured treatment, we do not ask that our inefficients should be admitted as against the efficient of our fellow-subjects of Great Britain what we ask for is equal tests, *e.g.*, equal opportunities, for the same standard to be exacted from all and that those who have proved fit in that test should be admitted as surely as has been promised by Acts of Parliament and by the plighted word of the Sovereign of the United Kingdom. As regards the Resolution, so far as Government is concerned, I did not expect that they would be able to make a definite pronouncement as to whether they will accept the recommendation—we are content with the assurance of the Hon'ble the Home Member that the matter will receive sympathetic consideration. But I have one or two observations to make in regard to the speeches of the Hon'ble Mr. Hogg and the Hon'ble Sir John Donald. The Hon'ble Mr. Hogg need have no apprehensions that there will be any untoward consequences arising from a large number of Indians in the Civil Service. I do not want to take up the question of passive resistance as it was objected to as irrelevant, but I am not quite sure that it was irrelevant, I think that our friends should express clearly what fears are in their minds so that we may be able possibly to help to remove them. I have very strong authority, I need not go into it at present, for stating that passive resistance is a thoroughly loyal and constitutional method of drawing attention to grievances. But my friend should know that passive resistance was not preached in this country during the time of the war, by the great bulk of our fellow-men, it was preached with reference to one unfortunate event which happily has now been solved. For the rest I would ask that....."

The Hon'ble Mr. Malcolm N. Hogg :—" May I rise to a point of order. If I was irrelevant in referring to this subject I think the Hon'ble Member should be in the same position."

The Hon'ble The Vice-President :—" The Hon'ble Pandit will no doubt recognise the justice of this intervention.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—" Quite so, and I shall be content to leave it there. I bow to your ruling, which I always do. I hope the needs of the war have been met not by preaching passive resistance but by active, loyal assistance to Government, by contributions in money and men during the three years so as to ensure that victory shall crown the efforts of our allies. For the rest, I should like to say a word with regard to what fell from the Hon'ble Sir John Donald. He belongs to the Political Department and naturally has something to say about the North-West Frontier Province. He says that people in his Province

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believe that it is by means of *Iqbal* that the British Government is carrying on the administration. That is very true; the *Iqbal* of the Government is a great asset, a great political asset in the administration of this country, and my friend has a right to say that so long as the *Iqbal* rests there need be no fear; but that *Iqbal* rests not on British battalions but on British rights and the people of this country feel that so long as the principles of justice and righteousness are the guiding principles of the administration the *Iqbal* of Great Britain will continue but the *Iqbal* may change and it may be that instead of the principles of justice racial pride and racial prejudice may be substituted. On this question nothing is more important than that the principles of justice should be the guiding principles in determining what policy should be adopted rather than racial considerations. My friend has spoken of the security of property in the North-West Frontier. I am sorry that he has referred to it because though he may take a different view, still we who know something as to what has happened in the North-West Frontier from communications made to us, are not at all sure that property is so secure and safe as my friend would try to make out. I recently received a few communications from the residents of the North-West Frontier Provinces which led me to ask a number of questions which of course in the exigencies of public interest were not allowed to be put in the Council, but that gave me very good evidence that life and property were not so secure in the North-West Frontier as my friend tried to make out. Now, Sir, there have been Mahsud raids and other raids, and the Hindu Sabha of the Punjab sent a memorial drawing the attention of Government to the very great risk to life and property there. We listened to some other remarks regarding the security of life and property, so I thought I would mention it.

“Then, Sir, my friend referred to the satisfaction of the people with the decision contained in the tiny little book called the ‘Frontier Crimes Regulations.’ That satisfaction is not shared by Indians, as I can testify from the personal knowledge that I have from respectable Muhammadan residents in the North-West Frontier. I wish those Regulations would be revised, I hope they will be revised before long.

“My friend then spoke of the difficulties that would arise if a Brahmin were to rule over the North-West Frontier Provinces. Well, he does and he will remember if I tell him that General Nandram ruled over Afghanistan at one time, and he asked Prince Maharaj Singh a favour to introduce his coin and there is a couplet in this connection. I might remind my friend, that General Nandram had his coin introduced there. Even to-day I am certain that if Brahmins who are fit by their education, their integrity and character are entrusted with the charge of the Frontier Province, they will not be found inefficient or wanting, and I am sure that Hindus and Muhammadans will be able to pull on as amicably as the British Officers and Muhammadans or Hindus. I am strengthened in that view because though my friend referred to the privilege which is allowed to certain Hindus to ride on donkeys, he forgot that in Afghanistan itself Hindus hold high offices under His Majesty the Amir. He also forgot that under Akbar Hindus held very high offices, Raja Toder Mull and others were Governors of provinces. He also forgot that in the Dominions of His Highness the Nizam, very high offices have been held by Hindus for generations. Those are facts which might remind my friend of the unfairness of the comparison which he instituted.

“Now, I will ask my friend one thing. Is he so sure that that partiality, religious partiality or prejudice, is confined to Hindus and Muhammadans alone? Has he forgotten that it was not very long ago in England there were:

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so many disabilities under which the Roman Catholic laboured, that the highest and the holiest of the Roman Catholics were debarred from holding offices which they had a right to enjoy, and is my friend so sure that even at this moment that the Roman Catholics and Protestants have entirely bridged their religious gulf. I remember a case where a high scholar, a Protestant, would not invite a medical man, a Doctor, because he was a Roman Catholic. If this is the case in the twentieth century among....."

The Hon'ble the Vice-President :—" I must point out that the Hon'ble Pandit's time is very nearly up and I shall not be able to give him any indulgence, as I consider that he is digressing a long way from the Resolution which is before the Council."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—" I shall finish, Sir, before my time is up. But I will refer to this because my friend Sir John Donald....."

The Hon'ble Sir John Donald :—" All I meant was that it was because of the advent of the British Government the distinctions between Hindus and Muhammadans were done away with."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—" That again is a statement which is more comprehensive than facts can justify, however, I do not wish to go again into the question of the distinctions between Hindus and Muhammadans. Sometimes Hindus ruled over Muhammadans and sometimes Muhammadans ruled over Hindus, and I claim that there was a great deal more happiness under those administrations than some of my friends are willing to admit. We are now neither under Hindu rule nor Muhammadan rule, nor under the European rule,—I hope we are under British administration and I hope that that will be made a reality, by a proper, reasonable, fair and an increasingly larger admixture of Indians in the services of India. That is my point. I will not dwell any longer on the character of the two administrations, British and Indian, which have been so fully dealt with. I shall be content if the Government will give the matter a reasonable and sympathetic consideration. With these remarks I leave the Resolution in the hands of the Council."

The motion was put and the Council divided as follows:—

AYES 21.	NOES 81.
The Hon'ble Sir G. M. Chitnavis.	The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer.
„ Pandit M. M. Malaviya.	„ Sir Sankaran Nair.
„ Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru.	„ Mr. G. R. Lowndes.
„ Raja of Mahmudabad.	„ Sir George Barnes.
„ Mr. Srinivasa Sastri.	„ Sir William Vincent.
„ Sir Dinshaw Wacha.	„ Sir Robert Gillan.
„ Rai Sita Nath Ray Bahadur.	„ Sir Pandey Lukis.
„ Maharaja Sir M. C. Nandi of Keesimbazar.	„ Sir Reginald Gamble.
	„ Mr. C. H. Kesteven.

RESOLUTION *re* PROPORTION OF INDIAN RECRUITS IN THE 389
INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE. RESOLUTION *re* AGE FOR THE
INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION.

[*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya ; Mr. Srinivasa Sastri.*]

[24TH SEPTEMBER, 1917.]

Ayes.	Noes.
The Hon'ble Raja Rajendra Deo of Kanika.	The Hon'ble Sir Verney Lovett.
„ Khan Zulfikar Ali Khan.	„ Col. S. L. Aplin.
„ Mr. K. K. Chanda.	„ Mr. G. B. H. Fell.
„ Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sundar Singh.	„ Mr. D. de S. Bray.
„ Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi.	„ Mr. F. C. Rose.
„ Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoy.	„ Sir James DuBoulay.
„ Sardar Bahadur Captain Ajab Khan.	„ Mr. C. E. Low.
„ Rai Krishna Sahay Bahadur.	„ Mr. H. Sharp.
„ Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy.	„ Mr. R. A. Mant.
„ Rai Bishan Dutt Shukul Bahadur.	„ Mr. H. F. Howard.
„ Mr. M. A. Jinnah.	„ Major-General A. H. Bingley.
„ Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma.	„ Mr. A. P. Maddiman.
„ Mr. K. V. R. Ayyangar.	„ Mr. M. E. Couchman.
	„ Mr. M. N. Hogg.
	„ Sir Hugh Bray.
	„ Mr. F. J. Monahan.
	„ Sir James Walker.
	„ Mr. E. H. Walsh.
	„ Sir John Donald.
	„ Mr. W. J. Reid.
	„ Mr. C. H. Atkins.
	„ Mr. C. A. Kincaid.

The motion was therefore negatived.

RESOLUTION *re* AGE FOR THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION.

The Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri to move the following Resolution :—

'This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the Government of India do represent to the Secretary of State that the age limits for the Indian Civil Service examination should not be reduced as recommended by the Public Services Commission.'

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[*Mr. Srinivasa Sastri.*]

“ Sir, I beg to move that this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the Government of India do represent to the Secretary of State that the age limits for the Indian Civil Service examination should not be reduced as recommended by the Public Services Commission. In the history of this question there have been many changes of age for entrance to the Indian Civil Service examination. I will not, Sir, go back into the history except to remind the Council of the great principle enunciated by the 1854 Committee, under Lord Macaulay, to the effect that what we want in this examination is to catch the finished product of the best English education. From that principle we have departed now and again, but not always to the greatest advantage. The chief change to which I must refer necessarily in this discussion is the change that was introduced for the first time in the year 1873, when the age fell to 17 to 19. Afterwards, in the year 1892, as the result of considerable discussion it was once more raised to 21 to 23. Then in 1906 it was once more raised by a year and it stands now at 22 to 24. The evidence that has been given in favour of the reduction of age in comparison with the evidence against it is, I should think, both numerically and otherwise, weak. This question was discussed as I said before, in 1878, when the age stood at 17 to 19. In the discussion that preceded that change many Europeans and Indians were examined, and I am concerned here only to point out that Lord Northbrook, summarising the evidence, said this :—

‘ Out of 101 officers of all ranks, 5 either do not refer to the subject of age, or give replies of doubtful import. Of the remaining 96, only 27 recommend a reduction of the present higher limit, 36 would retain the present limits, and 33 would raise the maximum age, most of them adopting Professor Jowett’s suggestion that it should be raised to 22.’

“ This was in 1875. Now during the inquiries that this Commission instituted the question was prominently asked of the witnesses likely to give useful evidence. The result may be summarised as follows :— Out of 82 European witnesses who gave evidence regarding the Indian Civil Service, 20 were silent on the subject, 5 gave doubtful answers, and 37 were definitely against the Commission’s proposal, that is in regard to the reduction of age. Only 20 were in favour of reducing the age limit to 17 to 19 or 18 to 20. In England out of 29 witnesses examined, no less than 19 expressed themselves against it. Of these, with the exception of one witness, no one suggested a lower age than 20 to 22. The representatives of all the Universities, except the London University, were opposed to the age limits proposed by the Commission. Oxford and Cambridge were willing to accept the lower age limits if the Government considered them necessary from an administrative point of view, but their own opinion was decidedly against it. Recently we read in the papers that the University of St. Andrews had memorialised the Secretary of State against the reduction of age and more recently still, within the last few days, we read of a Headmasters’ conference in London which likewise protested against the reduction of age. In the face of this strong evidence, the Commission have recommended this reduction. The grounds on which they rest their case are briefly these. In the first place they say a man at 20 is more likely to be pliable and to be bent to the needs of Indian administration than a man might be at the age of 24 or 25. Now that is perhaps true to some extent. I will not dispute the principle of that proposition but it seems to me that that is a problematical opinion and it is too much to rest a case for the reduction of an age limit against which there is so much authoritative evidence on it alone.

“ Let us, therefore, examine the other points, urged. One strong point is this, that a man of 24 or 25 is more likely to get married than one at 20 or 21. Now, Sir, that is a somewhat ticklish subject to deal with. Marriage brings its joys to all, I expect—I am thankful I have been blessed in that respect, but the Commission evidently thinks that it is bound to consider the financial embarrassments into which a young man is led on marrying

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in India. Those embarrassments, I suspect, Sir, with all due respect to the other sex, follow where a man marries in the first year or in the second or third year of his office. So that, unless the Commission wishes these men to remain bachelors for a great part of their lives, it does not seem to me to be very wise to make a change like this because of the difficulties that a man gets into when he marries.

“ Really, the strongest argument the Commission have put forward is this, that one year's probation in England is insufficient. They wish to have a probation of three years. Now, during this period of three years' probation, they expect that a very large number of candidates will proceed to the degree of a University; they also expect that they will be well trained in the use of different languages for which they may find use and that they may also learn some subject like Indian Law or Indian History with advantage. Now, let us examine this question of University degrees. I wish on this subject not to say anything of my own, but to quote merely from the opinion of Sir Charles Aitchison, which was recorded in the year 1884. At that time this very question was urged and he was considering whether, on account of the reduced age, boys had gone up to the University and taken degrees. He said

‘The age, it appears, has been lowered, that the men may be sent to a University, and because (so it is said) a University education cannot be ensured for the candidates by any other course. Whether or not it is desirable that all the candidates should receive a University education is a point on which opinions may well differ; but in the argument as stated there is a confusion of ideas. University education is one thing; University residence is another. The benefit of University education is its breadth. The boys of 17 or 18 or 19 now recruited do not get the benefit of a University education because they reside at Oxford or Cambridge for two years while prosecuting their special studies. There is not magic enough even in these venerable abodes of western learning to evolve culture out of Indian Law Books and the Urdu Alphabet. If the young man has not been generally educated before he passes the open competition, he never will be. Obviously the general education which it is the function of the University to bestow should come first. The limit of age has been lowered in order that the general and special education may be mixed up together. The University education which is sought is not only not attained, but made impossible; for all are too young to have gone through it. All that is attained is University residence for youths who have been compelled to break off their general education at the time when its effect on the mind is of most consequence.’

“The situation now, Sir, if the age limit were lowered, as the Commission recommend, would be identical with the situation of which the result was described by Sir Charles Aitchison in these words. If, then, this University degree question is put aside, what we have got left is that in the three years probation our young men will have time to get up a knowledge of the Indian languages. Now, I submit, Sir, with all due respect, that languages should be learnt on the spot where they are spoken, so that when these young men are, merely to come out in the course of a year or two, it is not necessary, I think to spend much time so long a time as three years at all events, in preparing them to learn languages where they could never acquire them to any good purpose. It is well known that English people are not endowed with much linguistic capacity, and it is very doubtful whether mere residence in England and study under European masters is likely to give them that real living acquaintance with the vernaculars of the land which they can acquire on the spot. For that purpose, then, a probation or a period of training in India would be far more useful than probation in England.

“Then Sir, I have considered the question only from the point of view of the English candidates so far. If the evidence is not strong enough in the case of English candidates that the lowered age and the three years' probation which they will spend in England are not likely to be so advantageous, and if the Civil Service as a whole is not likely to gain in efficiency on that account, the argument from the side of the Indian candidates comes in to reinforce my contention. From the Indian side it is urged, and I think with experience behind

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it, that this lowered age limit is likely to cut off altogether such chances as we have of obtaining any entrance from the English door. At the time that this was tried the result was that we obtained during the years 1878—1892 only 2·5 per cent of the successful candidates. Since the age limit was raised, we came to the usual percentage of 5·6.

“ Now, the Commission have further complicated the situation by adding a requirement that besides this age limit, each of the candidates should produce a certificate of having attended a recognised high school in England for at least three years preceding the examination. Now this is urged, I think, for the reason that they do not want students to come up to the examinations crammed by coaching establishments. They want them to have received such high school education as the first class institutions in England are able to afford. But what would be the effect on Indian candidates? They will have to go there at the age of 14 or 15, even earlier, at 13 or 14, if they are to be for three years in a school before being allowed to sit for the examination. Now that is a sheer impossibility. Of course the Commission recommend that the Civil Service Commissioners should have power to exempt Indian candidates, if they see fit, from this requirement; but all the same that the Commission should not have thought sufficient of the requirements of Indian candidates is, in my opinion, a consideration that should weigh with this Council in settling this matter. I am not one of those who think that everything should be settled from the Indian point of view. There have been many critics in India who have attributed to the Commission a desire, a motive, to cut off the English door from Indian candidates. Now, Sir, I do not repeat it. It is a dangerous, a hazardous game to attribute motives. Nobody can penetrate beneath the surface of a man's action. But certainly in law there is a proposition that anything that is known to result from a course of action is intended by him who embarks upon it. The Commission themselves realise that the effect will be to minimise the chances of Indian candidates; they recognise it because they state their proposition in that clear way. At the same time they recommend it. We cannot, therefore, shut our eyes to the fact that the Commission intend this result to follow. I do not say that they intend to secure that result above everything else. They have other results to secure, but this is one of the things, and I conceive, Sir, that it is our duty to consider, both on the one side and on the other, whether it is just in a matter of this kind, where Indian opinion is so sensitive and liable to be upset, whether it is wise to neglect the Indian point of view altogether; whether it would not have been better, considering that the advantages of the reduction of age are not overwhelmingly strong, and considering that the thing is about even on the one side and on the other, whether Indian opinion might not have been allowed to prevail in this matter. I think that is a point of view that will commend itself to the members of the Civil Service and also to the Government of India. I therefore commend this Resolution, without saying more, to the Council in the full hope that it will receive from the representatives of Government sympathetic consideration.’

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent :—“ Sir, I have explained the position of Government in regard to these Resolutions so frequently that I am unwilling to do it again. But I should like at the same time to emphasise one point that is, that I do think the discussions will serve a useful purpose in that they enable Members of this Council to put before the Government of India—and indirectly even before the authorities in the United Kingdom—arguments and opinions of great value. The Government will now have before it the considered opinion of a large number of Members of this Council, and though I am unable to accept the Resolution I hope that the Hon'ble Mover will understand the reason for my not doing so at the present stage. I would emphasise particularly in connection with this Resolution that this action of Government is in no way to be taken as indicative of any definite views on the subject.

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“ Further I may say that the Government of India do recognise that the Commission's recommendation regarding the age limit for the London examination is one of peculiar interest to Indians as it must seriously affect the numbers in which they can compete and succeed at that examination; and while we are not prepared lightly to set aside the deliberate recommendation of the Commission, yet the Government of India are also alive to the fact that there is a large and influential body of opinion opposed to these recommendations. The fact is that disadvantages as well as advantages attach to both the high and the low age limit. Briefly, the arguments which influenced the Commission's recommendation were as follows: Recruitment should take place either at the school leaving age or at the University graduation age, not at any intermediate stage. The present period of probation—1 year—is insufficient and should be extended. On the other hand, it is not advisable to bring out recruits to India older than they are at present. From some points of view their age, in the opinion of the Commission, might be somewhat reduced. On these arguments they arrived at the conclusion that the only way of attaining the object in view, or the best way of attaining it, was by reverting to the school-leaving age. Now there is considerable force in these arguments and it cannot be denied that there are disadvantages attaching to a high recruiting age. But the Government of India are aware that both Indian Members dissented from these propositions, and as has been stated by the Hon'ble the Mover, it is doubtful whether the weight of the evidence taking it not numerically but according to its intrinsic value was really not against the view which the Commission adopted. The number of opinions both in India and in England against the school-leaving age limit is indeed remarkable. It has been strongly urged too that present day conditions and the difficulties of modern administration demand that members of the Indian Civil Service should at the beginning of their Service possess better character, judgment, steadiness of purpose, self control and that assured knowledge of men and affairs which are more likely to be derived from a complete and matured education in the liberal arts and sciences. As has been pointed out by the Hon'ble Member, it is doubtful whether this education could be secured by training in special subjects after competition; and it may be argued that the possession of these qualities is more important than the undoubted fact that younger men are more adaptable, more receptive and more ready to learn the language, and conditions of the East.

“ Again, the Government are satisfied that great weight must be attached to the contention that the higher limits are more suitable to Indian conditions and cannot ignore the advantage of having a common age limit for all entrants alike. The difficulties that would beset Indian candidates who have to go home at the early age proposed by the Commission are indeed apparent, and they have been pointed out to you with greater ability than I could hope to do, by the Hon'ble Mover.”

“ Lastly, I may observe that representations against the Commission's scheme have been received, as I think the Hon'ble Mover said, from various authorities including the Universities of Edinburgh, Aberdeen and St. Andrews, and the Hebdomadal Council of the Oxford University. Such representations are entitled to great weight. I do not desire to take up further time with an exhaustive catalogue of the endless pros and cons of this controversy. I trust I have said enough, however, to make it quite clear that while we are not unaware of the advantages which might be secured by adopting the recommendation of the Commission, we are fully conscious of the disadvantages attaching to that system and of the advantages which might be secured by an examination at a later age, and we will attach due weight to all these arguments.

“ Again, I should like, before I sit down, to repeat my statement on one point. The Government recognise very readily that this is a question on

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which Indian interest is naturally very keen and deserving of particular attention, and I can assure my Hon'ble friend and his supporters that we shall not lose sight of their interest in our deliberations on this question."

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma :—" Having regard to the extremely sympathetic reply of the Hon'ble the Home Member, I should be doing wrong if I detained the Council; but the very hopes that he has inspired in us, that the recommendation of the Commission will not be followed and the keen interest evinced in the matter by the Indian public are reasons for trying to strengthen the hands of the Government of India against the recommendation of so weighty a body as the Public Service Commissioners.

"The Public Service Commissioners largely proceed upon the views of some of the Local Governments and of administrators in high office, and the only observation I may be permitted to make in this connection is that the gentlemen who were responsible for the Government at that time were largely if not all gentlemen who had been trained under the old system when recruitment was between 17 and 19. To use the words of Mr. Davidson, Master of Balliol College, Oxford.

'In 15 or 20 years time the men at the top of the tree in India will be naturally those appointed under the system of 1894, and if that is almost inevitable all is not going on smoothly in the service they will be apt in their turn to attribute the defects to the renewal, if it should be now renewed, and the selection at school-boy age.'

"Then, Sir, another argument which I may be permitted to urge in this connection is that there would be an alteration of policy every 20 years which is highly to be deprecated.

"The third argument which I would urge upon the attention of this Council is the fact that if the limit of 17-19 be accepted, that would correspond to the examination for the second class clerkships in the United Kingdom, and there would be a great danger of the service being largely recruited from the class which in England would compete for the second class clerkships. This is a point which has been pointedly drawn attention to in the evidence of Sir John Struthers. It has also been pointed out—and this has not been alluded to pointedly in the Commission's report—that if the age limits were reduced it would be impossible to expect a large number of highly educated men to compete for the Civil Service. I am not now talking of Indian interests; I am talking of purely British interests and the type of men we are likely to get. It is absolutely necessary that the present limit should not be reduced. My Hon'ble friend, Mr. Sastri has already alluded to the difficult question of marriage. May I also point out, Sir, that hereafter the policy of the British nation would and must be to encourage early marriage as was done in America years ago and consequently the observation of the Commissioners has absolutely no force whatsoever at the present moment. I may also point out that when a young man has secured a permanent footing and stays in England for three years match-making would be more active than when the apprenticeship period is only one year.

"I may also point out, with regard to the suggestion of some Members, that the gentlemen who have been coming out of late have not been as sympathetic as the older men, the younger men, with whom the Oxford Professor spoke repudiated with some indignation the suggestion that they have less interest in the country and less care for the Indians than their predecessors. There is also great force in the observation that the chief defect of the Indian Civil Service, as observed by outsiders, chiefly among the senior men, was their inability to see defects in the system, and to bring them out at a still younger age, while their minds were still more liable to be moulded into grooves would only accentuate this,

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“ With regard to the type of men we have been getting, the evidence that was taken in London was almost unanimous that the best type that could be secured in England was being secured under the present system, and if there were brilliant men under the old system, still the average of the present system is considerably higher than formerly. This is what Dr. Warren says :—

‘ My impression is that the rank and file were not so good under the old system. There were more failures. I should certainly say that under the present system India was getting from Oxford, and I believe it is the same with Cambridge, a very able, industrious, moral, vigorous lot of men.’

And the other professors also are equally emphatic. Professor Lodge says :—

‘ The majority of the men between 78 and 91 were on the whole less able and less thoroughly trained than the people who have been elected under the present system. At a lower age a young man is not qualified to judge of what his future career should be.’

Then Mr. Stanley Leathes says :—

‘ To lower the age for entry is a leap in the dark to a large extent. At 22 or 23 the man is more formed and the results of the open competition are more certain at the later age than at the earlier age.’

“ There is another great difficulty that has been pointed out and that is that very special incentives would have to be devised in order to prevent the young men who have secured a place from being idle; and as has been pointed out by one of the Members of the Commission, Sir Murray Hammick in the past the experience was that it was very difficult to devise such expedients. Then from the point of view of physical fitness the medical evidence was that it would be wrong to send these young men before 22; and if 17 to 19 be the age, certainly there would be a chance of a large number coming out at the age of 20 or 20½, and the medical opinion as I have said is distinctly against any man coming out to this country at that age. As I have already pointed out, the administration has become more complex and it is absolutely necessary to get the best university men, more necessary than in the old days. May I say, Sir, that the recommendation of the Commission follows to a certain extent the old ideals? The mercantile community both in England and in India thought that if they put their young men into the Universities they would be absolutely unfit for their careers. At present, I believe, the policy is that it is absolutely necessary to have a University education, and I think it is wrong to lower the age, because difficulties were found in some instances of the inadaptability of the young men to learn the drudgery of the routine. There are Indians to take up that portion of the work; and I do not think therefore that is a serious difficulty in the way. As was put by one of the professors, it is a leap in the dark and it might be that you may draw blanks or prizes under the system that is proposed, much in the same way as many Hindu fathers draw blanks or prizes in selecting bridegrooms from school boys because of the fear that if they waited long enough they would not be able to procure eligible husbands for their daughters. I know of many instances in which these marriages have ended unhappily. There was another idea at the back of the minds of the Commissioners, that they should spread the net as wide as possible in order to catch the best young men from England at as early an age as possible before the Home service becomes an attraction to them. But I fear that the results would be nearly as good as in the case I have illustrated already. I hope, Sir, that the Government of India will therefore positively decline to act upon the recommendation which has been made.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. B. Dadabhoj :—“ Sir, I desire to express my full sympathy with the Resolution just moved by my Hon'ble friend, Mr. Sastri. My friend has marshalled his facts and stated all his arguments with such sobriety and moderation, and has given so many cogent reasons in support of his Resolution that it is hardly necessary to say anything further on the subject. Particular! after the very sympathetic and considerate manner in which the

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Hon'ble Home Member has dealt with the question any prolonged debate on this subject becomes wholly superfluous. Reading between the lines of the reply given by the Hon'ble the Home Member it would be perfectly apparent to every one that the Government of India is conscious of the hardship involved in the recommendation of the Public Services Commission. All the facts have been now laid before Government and we hope and pray that the Government of India will seriously consider the question of the great hardship involved in this matter and will not give effect to the recommendation of the Public Services Commission. With these few words I warmly support the Resolution."

The Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri :—" I beg to withdraw the Resolution "

The Resolution was by leave withdrawn.

The Council adjourned to Tuesday, the 25th September, 1917.

SIMLA ;
The 4th October, 1917. }

A. P. MUDDIMAN,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Legislative Department.